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THORN ADVOCATES EUROPE'S POLITICAL UNION

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 1 Oct 81, p12

[Interview with EEC President Gaston Thorn by Dieter Schroeeder: "Political Union Is Needed"]

SUEDEDEUTSCHE: I have heard it said that you are worried about a growing lack of interest among the Germans in the European idea. At the same time, you are not an ally of the Germans, according to the London ECONOMIST. You are said not to consider the high German net contribution "unacceptable" and to anticipate an even less favorable situation for the FRG, if Bonn does not go along with the reforms you think necessary. Under the circumstances, we exactly do you expect from Schmidt, Matthoefer and the German public ?

Thorn: I do not remember the exact wording in the ECONOMIST but you are making it sound a good deal worse than it was. Of course, it is a bad business to have to tell the chancellor at some point that he has to dig into his pocket even more deeply. But as any realistic person, I am sure that the trend—which has nothing to do with our feelings in the matter—will not turn around in short order unless we do something about it. We do not think—it would be dangerous to do so—the FRG should be looked upon as the community's milch cow because it happens to be better off than the rest. On the other hand, one should also look at the economic situation in the countries concerned. As regards farm policy: Germany may not be getting out all of what it pays in but still has an interest in this policy while the British do not share the underlying concepts of it.

SUEDEDEUTSCHE: Are you still disappointed about the somewhat cool view the FRG government took of the commission's reform proposals ?

Thorn: I would not say "disappointed;" but of course they are all only all too human. I would much rather have had the chancellor say: "Ah, Gaston, now here is something I can really agree to." But that is not the way it was. I am glad that the FRG government at least took a realistic view of the proposals and decided to adopt a wait-and-see attitude.

SUEDDEUTSCHE: Now if this reform program the primary purpose of which is to help Great Britain offset costs is not adopted in time, say at the European summit in November, or if it fails altogether, what would the consequences for the FRG be? Would the gasoline taxes have to be raised again in 1982, so as to bail Great Britain out?

Thorn: I cannot quite follow. Do not forget the council's decision on 30 May 1980 that adopted a compromise on the British contribution for 2 fiscal years and that charged the commission with working out proposals for an overall budget reform. Now if the commission does not come up with any new ideas, we would have to take our inspiration from that earlier decision and hope to make it for one more year in that fashion. The mechanisms proposed in the commission's June report — a new policy for the community as a whole as well as a new farm policy — are going to take time. I admit — and please do not stone me for it — that this does not solve the FRG's problem in the short run. But on the other hand, I do think that your short-run problem is of a different nature than that of Great Britain, whose problem stems from the fact that the six of us had agreed on an agricultural policy which was fundamentally different from theirs.

SUEDDEUTSCHE: But that means that we will have another dispute next year over offsetting Britain's costs — because, as you yourself say, your proposals can only be effective over the long haul.

Thorn: Yes, of course — but I do think that our approach is the right one and that the EEC is not a mere banking operation, as Willy Brandt once said, where non-negotiable checks are transferred among different institutions but a community that must meet political deficits by means of common policies. It would be wrong, if members of the community — and that is our problem — which have an above-average per capita income get out more than the average and members whose per capita income is less than the average would have to pay more — and that is in a sense the difference between Great Britain and the FRG. The FRG's return on its agricultural contribution is 80 percent; Great Britain's return is only 30 percent.

SUEDDEUTSCHE: But there are other member countries which the FRG points to that also have a high standard of living but make out better than the FRG.

Thorn: I was referring to them without mentioning any names. I fully agree with you.

SUEDDEUTSCHE: But unfortunately there is no agreement on your proposals. Might it not take more than one summit to agree on the British matter?

Thorn: Without wanting to sound pessimistic — yes, I am afraid it will probably take more than one. I think it is important for the November summit to point out the right direction — such as how is the adjustment to be made; how are the recurring demands to be met; what is the basic position of the FRG; what must be done to work out a new farm policy? It will take the first half of next year at least to come up with some answers.

SUEDEDEUTSCHE: You have said on a number of occasions that Europe is on the way down, that you want to do all you can to turn this trend around and that the EEC would be a 'flop' if you did not succeed in mastering the most urgent problems within the first 18 months of your presidency. It is now half-time— what about your successes and failures so far ?

Thorn: When I said 18 months, I meant that one would be able to tell by the middle of next year to what an extent the member countries had followed our policies. If there is no further progress in the direction of Europe by that time; if by the time the summit-after-next takes place—which is to say after the Belgian presidency—the entire matter is postponed still further or if our proposals are turned down; if proposals put forward by Mr Genscher, Mr Colombo or by the commission to rethink the concept of European union are not considered; if there is a retreat from European policies, then that would turn the commission into no more than —how should I put it— an accounting firm or a secretariat. And that would amount to a 'flop'.

SUEDEDEUTSCHE: How do you evaluate the chances of success for your reform proposals in view of the reaction of the member countries ?

Thorn: We have reached a decisive stage; we must construct the Europe of the second generation. We must have as broad a view of things as the fathers of Europe in the fifties and sixties— more realistic, to be sure; setting new goals consistent with our own generation. I do not think one should tell our English friends or the Germans or the Danes: Please be realistic; let us not have a united Europe now; let us talk about it again in another 10 years.

SUEDEDEUTSCHE: One of the goals you appear to have in mind is political union. Just recently, you said in a speech that we must get out the plans for European Union again as soon as we can. Foreign minister Genscher has expressed similar thoughts. Originally, he even came out in favor of a new treaty on European Union which institutionalized political cooperation. The chancellor and the cabinet have all but dismantled this concept. In view of the diverging national trends inside the EEC, is there any chance at all to realize the visions of the founding fathers of the communities and to give them life ?

Thorn: Yes, of course— and it has to be done. I am more than glad that Genscher has at least raised the question. The answers must be given by us. What kind of a Europe do we want and what personal and national sacrifices are we willing to make to achieve it ? But before we can ask for sacrifices, you or I or anyone, all of us must know what kind of Europe we want. Today, in 1981, I think we all of us around the table, all 270 million of us, no longer agree. But we must have the courage to debate the question anew without turning the debate into a religious war as it was in 1965 in De Gaulle's day when the two camps were called maximalists and minimalists.

SUEDDEUTSCHE: As a first step toward political union, would it help to establish a permanent secretariat for political cooperation, an idea the FRG is likely to agree to? There are so many European institutions already that are just spinning wheels.

Thorn: The second part of your question puts me at ease. You almost had me thinking that you favored adding to the bureaucracy such as those who believe that all problems can be solved by setting up one more secretariat. I do not agree with that; we are already dissipating our energies. There are ten governments. Why can't they gather up all the available community spirit and if a communal institution is needed, they already have one: the commission itself. What's in a name? If they want or wish to name better people, let them do so. I have never stood in anyone's way.

SUEDDEUTSCHE: But is there not a certain lack of confidence in the commission?

Thorn: Do you think so? I think any lack of confidence in the commission reflects a lack of confidence in the particular government in itself because the commission is what the member governments have made of it.

SUEDDEUTSCHE: I believe you have also come out in favor of a common security policy for EEC; it might conceivably be part of European political cooperation in the future. But does this initiative still have any chance of succeeding? It seems to be more difficult than ever for the Europeans to agree on a joint security policy. You yourself have called attention to "neutralist tendencies" which threaten the entire continent like a "malicious cancer," particularly among the younger generation.

Thorn: That is true, unfortunately. As for the first part of your question: My views have not changed since 1958. I thought then there would have to be more of a will for political integration once economic integration had gone beyond a certain point. There is no serious-minded person in Europe who believes we can reach agreement on economic and political matters without as much as saying a single word about a common security policy. How can we live together in a community, if we are not ready to say who our friends and who our enemies are. We know why we have not gotten to that point. It has become a kind of taboo subject because not all of us belong to NATO and because France does not take part in the unified command. We cannot continue to run this community efficiently, if we say: now this is a matter of security policy—we cannot talk about that. I think everyone was aware of that. Hans-Dietrich Genscher realized it as others did and I think there will be some movement on this score, particularly if we do not speak about it too critically or ask too many questions about where to start and where to stop.

SUEDDEUTSCHE: Would you consider it a worthwhile goal or a possibility for the EEC to adopt a security policy of its own, even outside the NATO framework?

Thorn: Personally, I would say yes; but a political question of this kind requires consensus among all members. For that matter, it does amount to security policy for the community to be dealing with questions of oil supply, of stabilizing our southern flank through expanding in the Mediterranean area and of the Third World.

SUEDEDEUTSCHE: What will happen to the European monetary system? Chancellor Schmidt hoped that monetary cooperation will lead to a concerted economic policy of the member countries. But now he and Mitterand have charted a contrary course in economic policy. Can the European monetary system survive such a test of strength?

Thorn: I can merely hope and wish that it does. I do want to recall that the big question always was whether monetary cooperation would automatically lead to economic integration or whether economic integration would inevitably lead to monetary integration. I think it was extremely important to make a start somewhere. The less ambitious program of establishing a monetary system is a good thing but it must quickly be taken forward to a second stage. It is not quite a "lame duck;" but it is relatively weak and endangered. I admit to you, it is in danger! I admit that some currencies are laboring under a severe strain at the moment. I therefore think it would be a good thing to move on to the second stage. This would require Great Britain and Greece joining in because all ten member countries have to participate for the sake of community action. It is hard to understand some member country's saying it cannot see how it would benefit from it and not joining in as a consequence. If you say yes to a community, you say yes to an idea, to a creed, to a way of life, I would think. And we believe it should be less of a problem for the English to join in now. Without a doubt the chancellor is right in saying that the monetary system can only be properly implemented, if we take the appropriate consequences and if our economies do not diverge but develop in concert.

Overall Approach to Unemployment

SUEDEDEUTSCHE: The differences of opinion on economic policy have also surfaced in the debate about the EEC politico-economic program for the next few years. Is EEC still able to come up with joint solutions to Europe's most pressing problems, such as unemployment?

Thorn: No doubt the answer to unemployment and to currency challenges is different for France than for Germany. I hope I am not going too far if I say that I deplore that fact. I would be happier if there were a common answer. But I have to accept the fact that there is not and that something can be done only if there is full agreement but that these gentlemen, each of whom I hold in high esteem, do not in fact agree. That is why I must try to convince them of the fact that we are not proposing to play party politics or to show some one country up and persuade them of the efficacy of this policy. So please, do not make EEC responsible, if it is the national governments that have entirely different ideas about economic policy. There is no such thing as conducting a fiscal policy here and an economic policy there or a social policy and then suddenly to turn around and

adopt a policy to combat unemployment. There must be an overall approach. And that is why I assign priority to the convergence of economic policies and this means that one will have to accept the fact that problems can no longer be solved on a national basis but that all important problems must be solved on a Europe-wide basis.

SUEDDEUTSCHE: On several occasions, you have urged a return to majority votes. Under the present circumstances, is that at all possible?

Thorn: Of course it is possible. I will continue to plead for it time and again. Can you tell me how one can make real progress, if there must be unanimous decisions taken by socialists, Christian democrats, social democrats, liberals, conservatives and by ten countries with contrary interests? There is only one forum that still insists on unanimity and that is the United Nations and we all know what the result is. So, if you should ask me: Mr Thorn, how are things; why aren't they better? I must come out and tell you the truth. We are not getting on with things, in an age that moves as fast as this one. There are proposals aplenty; but we do not get our work done. I might recall that the unanimity principle was not an invention of Gaullist France alone. I think the problem can be solved in the manner once proposed by my one-time colleague, Willy Brandt. Being realists, we know that there are certain questions a given country will never accede to— de Gaulle and others have given proof of that. But why could we not say at some summit meeting—as the French president himself thought we might—or between now and the next summit that we unanimously agree on this point and on that and that majority decisions will be binding in the future. I can tell you that even de Gaulle thought 20 years ago that this unanimity would occur once, twice or three times a year whenever matters of vital interest were involved; but now it is called for 17 times each day. And so you see, we could retain this protective unanimity clause and all it means to each country and could still get our work done on the basis of different examples. But if one knows that someone merely has to clear his throat and say 'we don't agree,' well then one would also know we will meet again next month and then the problems need not be solved any longer.

SUEDDEUTSCHE: Do you still expect Spain to join EEC and thereby expand its membership or are there not increasing signs that Spain might be blocked by France?

Thorn: Forgive me for saying so, but I cannot forget that it was France, its government and its president, that first said Spain should join the community. I cannot imagine that Spain which has returned to the democratic fold with lots of good luck and much good will and has overcome a good many dangerous problems would now be left standing in front of the door because we are faced with agricultural or other problems ourselves. That would be politically irresponsible. It comes at a bad time— everyone would have preferred negotiating for Spain's entry 10 years ago. There will be a problem from the standpoint of agricultural policy; but who can tell today what new directions the entry of Spain and Portugal might give to the southwest of France which concentrates on viticulture but whose economy tomorrow might be quite different. Any politician worth his salt cannot exclude such possibilities.

SUEDEDEUTSCHE: But isn't the commission or the community as such under tremendous pressure to do more about the solution of the specific agricultural problems of the Mediterranean are before this problem can be tackled ? Your proposals allude to it rather vaguely.

Thorn: Unfortunately we have this huge agricultural policy facing us which gives us so many headaches. Let us look at this business more closely. By comparing this overall approach with other approaches, we reached the conclusion that this agricultural policy is the best possible policy, all things considered. There are inequities, to be sure. We are trying to correct them and to prove to the chancellor that we are making an effort to get the entire matter under control and not to throw money out the window. On the other hand, I hope that the member governments, including the Bonn government, will recall that the costs of this agricultural policy were agreed upon unanimously not by the commission but by the council. Year after year, the council approved higher expenditures than we had asked before and then the commission was blamed for it. I do not want to moan and groan; but those are the facts. I think we will make it, if every government bears its responsibility. Now, you say we are under pressure. I recall what Helmut Schmidt said to me one day when I told him: Helmut, we have to do this or that right now; we have to get on with it, otherwise it will be too late. He, who has much more experience than I, said to me: "Gaston, that would be a good thing; but important matters are invariably taken care of at the last moment and under great pressure."

9478

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END OF KEKKONEN ERA MEANS 'AGE OF HEROES' PAST

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 24 Sep 81 p 2

[Commentary by Max Jacobson]

[Text] "In unhappy times, Finland has had heroes, great men who have governed the land with wisdom and strength. Today we are among the lucky countries that do not need heroes."

Finland's political life has taken a more serious mien after the president fell ill. The presidential game is no longer just a game. Everyone understands that we are coming closer to the real test.

Urho Kekkonen has been the dominant figure in Finnish politics for such a long time that it is understandable that a kind of stage fright takes over when a successor has to be chosen. Above everything else, Kekkonen has become for the Finns the symbol of security and a stable relationship with the Soviet Union. How are we going to manage without him? The ghosts of note crises and periods of night frost are still haunting people's minds. These events shook our faith in our being able to make our own decisions. It appears that some lack of faith still persists.

However, those events have no other connection with the present than the Kekkonen persona itself. His rule has been so long that its early stages now belong in a past historical period. When he was elected president for the first time, the peace agreement was only 9 years old, the YYA [Peace, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance] Treaty only 8 years old, and only 3 years had passed since Stalin's death.

The Finns were still in the process of adapting to the realities created by the Second World War. The misgivings about Soviet intentions still ran very deep. The ideological and societal segmentation of the people was still very strong. Kekkonen's entire first term in office was overshadowed by the Cold War, which culminated in the Berlin crisis on the eve of his second election.

Today, the situation in Europe is stable, and Finland is a solid component of this stability. With Kekkonen in the vanguard, the dissensions among the Finns have eased, and national unity prevails. The foreign policy line is firmly anchored in the support of all leading parties and elements of the nation.

The relations between the Soviet Union and Finland are based on an extensive and systematically functioning machinery of cooperation: the individualistic ventures of the Nikita Khrushchev era are past history. The continuation of a policy of cooperation is taken for granted in Finland, and also Moscow appears to value the smoothness of her relations with Finland at a time when nearly all her other neighbors appear hostile, untrustworthy or unstable.

It now depends entirely on us ourselves whether we are able to find a successor for Kekkonen in a way that secures the great achievements of Kekkonen's lifework: the national unity and concord over foreign policy. Above anything else, politicians and political parties are faced with a test of maturity. During the past two decades, the politicians have been left free to devote their energies to the national division of income and power, while they have been able to entrust the president with the safeguarding of national interests.

Now the responsibility is theirs: the president's task is national and his power indivisible.

At least on the theoretical level, we can hardly expect any disagreement over what the national interest requires in this situation.

It requires that confidence in the continuation of our unique policy of neutrality is maintained both among the Finns themselves and among all foreign powers. As all the leading parties and also all the serious presidential candidates undeniably favor this policy, it appears that continuation is secured. But it is possible that a destructive electoral battle might damage the credibility of our neutrality policy regardless of which candidate finally wins.

However, the upcoming presidential election is not as dramatically fateful as some earlier ones in our history. We will be choosing a successor for Kekkonen, not choosing a new Kekkonen, a dominant leader figure. The international status of our country and our domestic situation are so stable that the role of the president is settling down to a more mundane level.

In Bertolt Brecht's play on the life of Galileo, a character says: "Woe to the land which has no heroes." Galileo responds to this: "And woe to the land which is in need of heroes."

Finland has had its heroes in times of misfortune, strong leaders who have governed the land with wisdom and strength. Today we stand among those fortunate countries who need no heroes.

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CSO: 3107/4

CONSERVATIVE PARTY SECRETARY ON PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 24 Sep 81 p 8

[Text] The Conservative Party is becoming the big decisive factor in the upcoming presidential election. The gateway into the government is also open wider than ever before during the Center-Left government coalition. The Conservative Party now has a winning hand in the political poker game.

Harri Holkeri's foreign policy speeches raised the party up to par with the others as a reliable foreign policy maker, but the people have dealt the party a good hand, and the number of supporters is still on an upswing. The Conservative Party is ready to play, apparently also to take part in an early presidential election.

"The Conservative Party has prepared itself for the elections as it should have," "A modern political party has to be in a constant state of electoral preparedness," Jussi Isotalo, the party secretary, states.

The Conservative Party made the decision in their party convention last summer that the party corps will convene in an extraordinary party meeting in 1982 with the purpose of discussing questions connected with the presidential elections of 1984.

"We expect to nominate the presidential candidate at this meeting, but the decision on this is up to the party convention itself," says Isotalo.

In Isotalo's opinion, it will be easy for the Conservative Party to choose a candidate.

There is no likelihood of a common bourgeois candidate. According to Isotalo, the Conservative votes are not up for auction.

He also does not believe in a leftwing electoral alliance.

The presidential game has been going on ever since 1978, when Urho Kekkonen was chosen as president for the fifth time.

The Presidential game has been on continually; there have always been some people playing it. If the politicians have not been at it, at least the media have.

New Drawing of Lines in Government Politics

The cooperation between the Center and Left has grown weaker as the Conservative Party has grown and the presidential game has accelerated.

During their coalition, the national coalition parties have lost ground: the Center Party by a third and the Left by a sixth of their constituencies. Most of the booty has been lost to the Conservative Party.

The arm-wrestling between the presidential surrogate Mauno Koivisto and the Center Party's chief Paavo Vayrynen has made the government into a mere pawn in the presidential battle.

The disputes run deep but the issues themselves are minor. I do not regard the present government as being truly functional any longer. It is nothing more than a managerial body that takes care of routine matters.

Center Party Fed Up With People's Front

According to Isotalo, the Center Party is tired of being the government's brakeman holding back the leftist politics.

The Center Party appears to regard the situation as a problem of power politics. The coalition is about to lose the people's support.

According to Isotalo, it is not certain that the people's front will maintain their two-thirds majority in the Diet at the next elections.

In relation to the size of the Center Party's Parliamentary membership, their representation in the government has been disproportionately high. The party has justified this by declaring that the Center Party represents the no-socialist Parliamentary majority in the government.

Isotalo does not believe that the Center Party would lose any of its political influence and significance even if the Conservatives sat in the government.

The Conservative Party--an Easier Partner Than the SKDL

In the budgetary disputes, the Center Party played their presidential game by trying to trap the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] in a corner and then toss it out of the government. Mauno Koivisto, however, left the SKDL with more leeway. The Center Party was unsuccessful, and at least to a degree, Mauno Koivisto won out as the president took ill.

The Conservative Party now has a better chance than ever before during the coalition of participating in the government. The presidential game, the SKDL's efforts at unification, and the growth of the Conservative Party almost inevitably work in favor of the Conservative Party gaining an entrance to the government.

Channels have to be opened up for the Conservative Party to demonstrate its will to cooperate in decision-making on all levels.

[Question] You mean in the government:

[Answer] That is one of the decision making levels. It is our duty to bring a quarter of the people to influencing the executive branch of the government, says Isotalo of his party's central goal.

During the 1960's when the Conservative Party was a government participant, there were serious disagreements within the party over government policies. Isotalo does not think that there are dissidents in the party now who systematically would vote in the Diet against the government if the Conservative Party was in it.

"If the Conservative Party agrees to be in the government, it will be there; if it doesn't, it won't," he says firmly.

UUSI SUOMI--A National Institution

UUSI SUOMI has chosen its line in the presidential question. It will work towards the goal of bringing in a bourgeois president.

As this was announced, rumors were started that UUSI SUOMI was again about to become the Conservative Party's organ. However, no persons of authority have said so. In an interview with SUOMEN KUVALENTI, the managing director of the UUSI SUOMI enterprises, Arto Tuominen, remarked that he considers a party dead if there is no debate on whether it needs a national organ or not.

Tuominen does not need to regard the Conservative Party as dead, quips Isotalo.

However, the Conservative Party is not about to go wooing at Kaivoksela, the site of the UUSI SUOMI editorial offices.

UUSI SUOMI always has been a newspaper of the Conservatives, never the Conservative Party's paper. For party members, UUSI SUOMI is a national institution. It is important that it does well, and all other matters are of secondary significance, including whether it is the party organ or not.

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CSO: 3107/4

KRASUCKI: NATIONALIZATIONS, UNEMPLOYMENT, AMNESTIES

Paris REVOLUTION in French 11 Sep 81 pp 18-20

[Interview with Henri Krasucki, CGT leader, by Dorothee Vion and Leo Lorenzi; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Between meetings, on the run, at LA VIE OUVRIERE headquarters, our two writers plugged in their tape recorder so Henri Krasucki could talk. According to the CGT leader, "The CGT is very comfortable in the new situation." Its golden rule: to be vigilant and constructive, because everything will depend upon the workers.

[Question] This time, Henri Krasucki, no one will be able to accuse you of compromising the formula. Isn't this a re-entry like the others?

[Answer] It isn't a re-entry. It's an entry. A genuine social opening. We are right at the point of getting the change under way. That change will be, decisively, what we make of it, with the workers. Last year, at the same time, we were fighting to impose negotiations, to score points or prevent nasty blows and to further the idea that change was possible. Don't listen, we were saying, to those who are preaching resignation or cultivating pessimism. A crisis isn't fatal. There is a way out. Now we are ready to get down to work. It is no longer a matter of fighting to make change conceivable, but of undertaking it.

[Question] And succeeding with it?

[Answer] We are not at all unaware of the difficulty before us, but it is possible, without taking anything away from the situation as it is, including the differences existing between the allied forces, political or labor union, that are working for change.

Success is possible because a majority voted against unemployment and the lowering of purchasing power, even though we don't all make the same evaluation of the ways to get started. The rejection of a harmful policy constitutes pressure that employers, government, unions and parties have had to take into account.

It is also possible because the crisis caused and will cause choices to emerge. We can no longer do what we did before and to respond to these choices sufficient means are necessary. In recent years, moreover, we have put forward ideas in that

direction and we will persevere along that path. Finally, it is possible because clear-sighted forces, of which we are one, raise the popular consciousness.

[Question] Even though in politics it isn't desirable to judge hastily, an early evaluation of this government is taking place?

[Answer] Exactly. I am going all the way with this question. When you subtract the number of unemployed and measure the inflation, some people are entitled to wonder: could we be in the presence of a leftist management of the crisis? The question is all the more well-founded because we have had the occasion to say that it is men and forces that were hoping for such a situation, and are still hoping for it. But today, that isn't the question. Something else is happening.

The essential point of the measures taken by the government, the reforms undertaken or projected are going in the right direction, even though we consider some of them to be too slow, or inadequate.

[Question] Are you thinking of wages, prices, unemployment?

[Answer] Yes, because those are emergencies of a general nature. Inflation is of course a complex subject, a delicate one, but at the current rate, what will be left of the purchasing power several months from now if effective measures are not taken to stop rising prices? We had recommended a temporary and selective freeze on heavy-consumption products. That wasn't accepted. We are in favor of a more energetic and efficient attitude, in liaison with union dialogue.

As for wages, I believe everyone can understand that the problem posed by salaries can't be settled in a few weeks because the injustices are patent and there is great confusion. But an initiative in this area is necessary this year, so the small and medium wage-earners can benefit from a real increase in purchasing power and the great majority of the other people can really preserve theirs. This seems to us to be necessary on the social as well as the confidence level. It is also necessary to have a consistent attitude in order to fight unemployment, because more purchasing power supports more products consumed, more work and less unemployment.

[Question] So unemployment is really the most burning question?

[Answer] The prime minister puts it at the top of his list of concerns. We do too. To launch an attack on unemployment requires a group of measures, among them a revival of consumption in liaison with prices and wages, creating industrial jobs and developing public services. Observing what's happening in the latter field, with the action the government is conducting there in favor of civil servants as well as transportation--with the renaissance of the SNCF [French National Railroad] as well as what is planned for urban transportation--adding the Health and National Education Services, the differences from last year stick out a mile. There is a visible innovative effort that contrasts strongly with the demonstrations organized last year at this time by the CGT in defense of public service. Demonstrations that were censured or passed by in silence! Useful jobs for the quality of life, this is a good omen that confirms our words at the beginning on the idea that we are committed in the right direction.

Industrial jobs? We have always pleaded for this, for years we have tried to check the industrial decline, the demolition of the productive apparatus. At that time we

were called chauvinists. How could we not be satisfied to talk with a minister of Industry who asserts that he wants to give a new departure to an activity directed toward reconquering the national market and reestablishing its position in the international market?

We will evaluate the extent and effectiveness of the measures to be taken, but in any case this step meets with our approval. It is likely, as we have asserted many times, to check the curse of unemployment. On this subject, I remind you of our constant proposals to lower the retirement age, to reduce the duration of working time.

[Question] Speaking of industry, the productive capacities of a country like France makes nationalizations surge in our present political context. This is a burning theme, at the heart of an extremely lively debate.

[Answer] And for good reason. Nationalizations are a fundamental element of economic, political and social democracy. It is one of the great methods of change to form another industrial policy which is capable of developing employment. The government wants to start up the nationalization program for which it was elected. The CGT has a wider range in its program, but we said let's undertake those for which the majority of the French people voted, let's do them well and swiftly, so this can be effective on the financial, industrial, economic and social level, and thus effective for employment.

The employers are screaming, and in unison with them, the men and the parties of the former majority, which has become the new minority, are screaming too. This should not be a surprise. It is still the old reactionary right, devoted to its privileges. These forces built an empire, at the price of a shameless exploitation, and they struggled hard to sell it out or destroy it. Today they talk of the freedom to do business, which would be threatened, according to them. But what have they done? Two million unemployed and deserted areas. Nationalization, to a certain extent, is the sanction for their incompetence. Moreover, on the balance sheet of the last few years their discretion is unfailing. The spirit of enterprise, but today it is the world of labor that carries it! The mines must be reopened, the factories born again, the disabled industries stimulated. The large employers' class is striving, by every means, to barricade the road to change, which the French people decided upon democratically. But the real challenge for the employers is to justify themselves: where are the jobs? The class struggle has not disappeared in the social reality.

[Question] So, wages and prices, employment and nationalizations--and freedoms, of course--

[Answer] The first and most vast group of measures that were taken has to do with freedoms. This is a good sign. The law of amnesty being extended to the victims of anti-labor union repression is a political act of primary importance. On the other hand, it is good that the public sector and the national businesses are setting an example as they are doing with this amnesty law and the political and union rights that are becoming effective. However, we mustn't forget that in private enterprise the employers are doing their best to enforce the amnesty law in the most restrictive way. As for new freedoms, they don't want to hear them mentioned. As far as recalcitrant employers are concerned, we tell the workers: amnesty must be widely enforced and freedoms must become a part of life. The real power struggle is for the workers to be able to be respected. We are no longer in the time when employers

could summon the CRS [State Mobile Police] with one telephone call. One has every right to expect work to be inspected and governmental authorities responsible for it can be expected to have a very active attitude toward respecting the rights of workers.

[Question] Is the real power struggle you are revealing being perceived?

[Answer] Yes, and in a significant number of businesses and localities, where it has been comprised in this way of the rank and file and the organizations, they have won. Of course there is still a certain hesitation sometimes, a lack of boldness stemming from the fact that not everyone realizes where he stands today.

[Question] One hears rumors, the CGT may slow down the struggle shortly, may soon be a way of pressuring the government--

[Answer] It is not doing neither. The CGT's program really goes beyond the objectives of the government. But in the latter's program there are things that correspond to an important part of our objectives. We are also aware of the real situation, of what the election revealed was wanted. We are acting as an autonomous independent force, as a union that defines its action in relation to its own objectives and the interests of the workers. The CGT's program is our frame of reference, as well as the actual behavior of our interlocutors and our partners.

[Question] So, neither a brake nor a spur?

[Answer] Let's say a stimulating force for change goes as far as possible and the workers find maximum advantages in it.

[Question] The CGT is comfortable, then?

[Answer] Perfectly. It is preserving its entire freedom of judgment, of criticism, of proposal. We are saying to the workers: nothing can be done without your intervention, nothing will come from on high on a silver platter.

[Question] In your speech at the Pantin Gate you distinguished between constructive vigilance and tense suspicion. What did you mean to say?

[Answer] It isn't a matter of being either those who lie in wait for the government in the corners of the woods with a shotgun or advocates of the government; it's big enough to be self-explanatory. Between constructive vigilance and tense suspicion there is more than a nuance. Constructive vigilance is our attitude: independence and action as an autonomous force, with the workers, with our eyes open. Tense suspicion would be paralyzing.

It involves governing with forces that are diverse. The differences are real, they have not been eliminated with one wave of a magic wand. We don't have anything to be cut out of the evaluations we made of the background of the general situation and of the differences. I am in favor of being truthful, of treating the workers, the people like adults, of presenting things as they are. Finally, the situation is new to everyone; for the government as a whole, for the Socialist ministers who find themselves being confronted with a certain reality, for the Communist ministers who for 34 years have been outside the government; a new situation, too, for all organizations, including the CGT. What is about to take place, as I mentioned just now, is

something other than leftist management of the crisis. I say no more about that, nothing is guaranteed; everything will be the result of a complex movement, with a class struggle at its core, more acute, the stake being concrete change. So we must know how to evaluate the situation at every moment, the real content of a policy, of an act, of a decision, of a reform, and at the same time not to embellish or exaggerate it. In each circumstance, to find what is the measure, the ideas that can advance the movement. For example, in the CGT program there are many ideas, but not all of them were designed with the intention of doing everything right away.

This new attitude necessitates--and this is natural--adaptation on the part of everyone, of the whole movement, from top to bottom; no one escapes it.

[Question] Intervention by the workers, agreed, but in what form?

[Answer] We are not ruling out anything, even strikes. That's democracy. If intervention by the workers is necessary, the forms it takes may vary. In businesses, it is necessary to define what is wanted, what is believed to be possible and how to go about obtaining it. There is a power struggle that enables many things to be settled without being forced to strike...With the government one discusses, one proposes, one listens, one negotiates, but at the same time one keeps the parties concerned informed, one acts in such a way that they find the means to express their opinion. I am speaking of the government, but I might also be speaking of the Assembly, which is playing a role it didn't have before: there are debates and amendments. It is very good that the workers are getting mixed up in all the projects that are coming under discussion, and there are a thousand ways of doing it. The amnesty law is a very good example. Democracy is openness; one may propose and also demand, that depends on who one is and whom one is facing. But what counts in the last analysis is that the workers make of it their own thing.

8946

CSO: 3100/17

BUNDESWEHR DISMISSES MAJOR FOR NPD ACTIVITY

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 12 Oct 81 p 76

[Article: "Bursting the Festering Sore"]

[Text] For the first time ever, a court martial has dismissed a soldier from the Bundeswehr for engaging in NPD activities. Does this spell doom for Neo-Nazis in uniform?

At a social evening for military men in Bochum, one of those present assailed his boss, defense minister Hans Apel, by calling him a "real bad sort," a "leftwing evangelical." He also had unkind words for Bonn's "oligarchic democracy" which he termed a "coterie of stooges of Germany's enemies."

Of discussions concerning the extermination of the Jews, he said they amounted to "unscientific hogwash" and as for the "Holocaust" he said it was a "tear jerker." Once he really got going, he referred to the "so-called Nazi reign of terror" and called for "an end to willful falsification of history to the detriment of our people."

The only group that was right, he said, were his partisans whom he called the "nation's conscience—the only force willing to preserve our people, to reunite it and to safeguard its existence."

Karl-Heinz Lindner, 46, who calls himself "the Bundeswehr major who smashes the festering sore of society with his fist," is not only a German through and through; he is now making German military history. The officer, who worked for the Bundeswehr supply division at St. Augustin near Bonn, is the first NPD member to be dismissed from the military for radical rightwing activities.

The eighth chamber of the central region military court, consisting of three civil judges and two honorary military judges, meeting in Duesseldorf, ruled last Wednesday that "conscientious offender" Lindner was to be dismissed from the Bundeswehr, being entitled to no more than 75 percent of his retirement pay for the next 6 months.

The verdict was based principally on the statements made by Lindner who has been chairman of the NPD's North Rhine-Westphalian land organization and deputy chairman of its national presidium since 1979. The major was charged with spreading the "anti-parliamentarian" and "racist" ideas of his party and thereby having violated article 8 of the army regulations which states that "the soldier must honor the free and democratic order as provided for by the Constitution and act to preserve it in every way."

This particular attitude is not only lacking in Lindner's case. Rightwing tendencies inside the Bundeswehr are unmistakable— not only since a group of young lieutenants attending the Bundeswehr academy in Munich played a game of "cremating the Jews" and sang Nazi songs at a social evening in 1977.

Military intelligence (MAD) sources say there are radical rightwing sympathizers in the Bundeswehr. More than 100 officers, non-commissioned officers and civilian officials and white-collar workers belong to the NPD and to similar rightwing groups. Thus far, however, legal action was taken only against leftwingers among the military.

Legal means to deal with radicals of all stripes have been available since 1975. At that time, the Constitutional court ruled that membership in a political party that was not outlawed but espoused "anti-Constitutional" goals would suffice for dismissal in individual instances. Last year, the federal disciplinary court in Frankfurt expanded on this ruling by stating that officials of the federal government were permitted to be members of radical parties but must not engage in unusual activity or accept party offices.

But in practice investigations and court proceedings have generally been instituted against leftwingers, however. There was corporal Werner Pomrehn from Kiel who was given an early discharge from the Bundeswehr for having signed and distributed the draft of a talking paper on "a progressive tradition in the Bundeswehr."

Lieutenant-colonel Werner Witt from neighboring Eutin, however, was permitted to stay in the service although he was land chairman of the NPD in Schleswig-Holstein and had sent out propaganda material on his party's behalf in which he referred to the chancellor as "Brandt-Frahm-Martin-Flamme."

In North Rhine-Westphalia, they are even having a tough time getting the pre-trial proceedings in a disciplinary case against Hagen Prehl under way, who is an NPD district chairman and a professor at a technical college. According to an entry in Prehl's personnel file, the head of the technical college, Willibald Joest, considers him a man with a "clear understanding of the democratic process."

No doubt a man with a clear understanding of the law. At one point, Prehl took part in a forbidden demonstration for an SS criminal (the motto being: "The Reich lives—NPD") and on another occasion he railed against the "enemies of the constitution in Bonn" and against all the "substandard personnel throughout the land."

Together with his land chairman Lindner, he collected thousands of signatures at rallies and in pedestrian malls on behalf of the "no more foreigners—Germany for the Germans" drive and the new foreigners' glossary which runs the gamut from "no benefits from the German unemployment and retirement system" to "repatriation" and "zero entry permits."

Lindner and Prehl have already issued the marching orders for their next attack. German and foreign children, in their view, should henceforth attend separate schools.

If this takes some time, it does not matter. Since the major has lodged an appeal with the military court in Munich, litigation may go on for years while he keeps collecting a net salary of DM 3,959 per month.

9478

CSO: 3103/36

APEL PLANS REORGANIZATION OF DEFENSE MINISTRY

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 12 Oct 81 pp 22-23

[Article: "Comptroller in Land Registry Office"]

[Text] A management expert found out what the defense ministry needs: a control commission.

Hans Apel was speaking like a true politician, leaving the door open to all sides. He said that the findings of his adviser Manfred Emske regarding mismanagement in the ministry and the need for reforms pointed "in the right direction." On the other hand, however, this was not necessarily how he felt about it. And then he said the recommendations "were not necessarily non-binding." So, where does that leave matters ?

Apel, who had been burned by the "Tornado" debacle, decided to strike the key sentence of the Emske proposal which read "the defense minister is asked to comply with this recommendation" prior to meeting with members of parliament last Tuesday to discuss the document.

Apel had no intention of arousing the deputies' anger yet again with a request—in this case by asking for DM 1.5 million to fund the Emske commission.

Emske, the former director of Reemtsma, whose services Apel engaged at the height of the "Tornado" crisis, now wants to get to work with a group of experts after spending 6 months obtaining an overview of the muddled management structure in the defense ministry. He would like to establish clear responsibilities, cut jobs and conclude more sound agreements with industry.

To achieve his goal, he will not only need the help of the officials and officers in the ministry, but also some economists and management specialists. Emske found that there were too many lawyers (46 percent) and too many technicians (25 percent) at the head of the armaments division and at the federal agency for arms technology and procurement in Koblenz and too few people with "industrial know-how."

Lawyers and bureaucrats are peculiarly unsuited for management duties in that they are intent on covering their flanks. In the course of his fact-finding mission, Emske made similar discoveries as the Tornado investigating committee: far too many people were involved in the decision-making process and signing off and none had an overview or was willing to bear the responsibility.

Speaking to a small group, Apel called this a "mania for meetings and for covering oneself" while adding that "it appears to be standard procedure for 40 officials and officers to sign off on a document." But then, more than 1,000 government employees at the arms division and another 19,000 employed in Koblenz do want to keep busy.

Soon, they will be joined by a few more: a "comptroller" and his staff.

Emcke proposes to install an economic expert at the state secretary level who answers directly to the minister and in whose office the main threads of the operation will converge. This super-manager would be charged with coordinating all procurement of arms and equipment, overseeing production programs and providing the minister with all appropriate data at all times.

There would be independent comptrollers in the army, navy and air force whose job it would be to provide him with information.

"There are two aspects to this control function," Emcke states: "the design and implementation of planning control and information supply systems and continuing coordination within the existing systems context of planning, control and information supply."

The deputies had had the rationale explained to them once before, albeit in a more comprehensible fashion. That was 12 years ago when the then defense minister Helmut Schmidt asked for the establishment of the post of state secretary for armaments saying that his ministry could "not be run like an old-time Prussian land registry office."

At that time, the defense minister also called on a friend from the management sector. Ernst Wolf Mommsen, chairman of the Thyssen board of directors, was named Schmidt's state secretary for controlling and became, as Schmidt himself put it, the first "dollar-a-year man in the FRG."

Those who succeeded him turned out to be more expensive. Siegfried Mann and Karl Schnell were bureaucrats at heart who did not have what it took to implement control processes. In the aftermath of the "Tornado" and the frigate 122 affairs, Apel was heard to complain that he had "not been warned in time by anyone."

How a comptroller can succeed where state secretaries have failed neither Apel nor Emcke were able to tell the deputies. SPD deputy Peter Wuerz quoted Goethe: "I hear the message well enough..."

SPD deputy Claus Grobecker had little faith, either, advising the minister not to expect miracles from the comptroller. Without the help of the personnel council, he said, it was not at all easy to transfer government officials or shift them around.

But Apel said: "I know that the personnel council will be knocking on my door by tomorrow." Nonetheless, he wants to try and implement Emcke's recommendations, if not too precipitously. Controls, yes— but with feeling.

Emcke himself appears to take a more realistic view, accepting the possibility of the failure of his mission— as a consequence of his 6-month investigation into military practices.

He wanted to find out, he said, how the defense ministry might optimally be organized "irregardless of the fact of whether existing legislation, political conditions, social claims, civil service regulations or any other obstacles stand in the way of implementation or not."

But if his proposals should run afoul of reality, Emcke intends to ask all critics of defense management to submit their own. Then they would have to say how matters "could be improved given the present set of circumstances."

247B

CSO: 3103/35

RALITE: PRIVATE MEDICINE, BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH POLICIES

Paris LE MONDE in French 12 Sep 81 pp 1, 12

[Interview with Jack Ralite, minister of health, by Dr. Escoffier-Lambiotte; date and place not given]

[Text] The tour of France's health system that Jack Ralite begins on 17 September, the itinerary for which he is commenting on today, Friday, 11 September, should enable the minister of health to express his views and his plans regarding the broader themes arising from his responsibilities.

In this interview granted to LE MONDE, Mr. Ralite states his ideas on the organization of a health system which has been until now, and in its essence, liberal and pluralist, and on the orientations which his personal political philosophy could give to it.

[Question] What are the objectives of this tour you are undertaking, and the motives which determined its stages and its themes?

[Answer] Health is a set of related concerns, and my tour is aimed at the larger questions. The first one, "social inequalities and health," will be taken up at Nord-Pas-de-Calais. My basic objective is to help, as quickly and as best possible, to reduce the inequalities found in our country with regard to sickness and health care.

Visits to various enterprises, to Renault in Douai, to the mines in Sallaumines, the woolen mills in Roubaix, to Usinor, finally, will precede the lengthy discussions I will conduct with union members, miners, industrial doctors, and then, in Lille, with hospital doctors and members of the regional council's commission on social affairs.

The visits I made to Corsica and Longwy fall within this same vein of concern. I place working conditions, "the impact of work on health," ahead of disease and health care as the basic source of these inequalities, and I remind you that the Northern region has the highest infant mortality rate in France.

In short, I consider myself the spokesman of these people, and I will take their health problems in hand along with them.

[Question] Will general practitioners always be the mainstay of the health system? Will you also be their spokesman, and how do you intend to assure the reassessment of their functions?

[Answer] Saving the general practitioner, and increasing his status, this is the theme of the second stage of my tour, in Reims. The methods will be examined with the general practitioners themselves, and I approve of the proposal of a "Monier social contract, in the name of the CSMF [Confederation of French Medical Unions]" which goes well beyond conventional negotiations. This is, to my knowledge, the first time that a national doctor's union has proposed assuming a national responsibility, and, upon my return, Mrs. Questiaux and I, in full agreement with the workers' and the doctors' unions, will formulate a draft for this contract which we will draw up.

[Question] On the eve of the Bichat negotiations, can we ask you whether post-graduate education, in one form or another, will become a requirement for doctors?

[Answer] I prefer encouragement to requirement. The necessity of continuing education not only for doctors, but for all medical personnel, including pharmacists, dentists, and paramedics, seems obvious to me. Decentralization is essential here as elsewhere, and the minister of health, as part of his objectives in this area, intends to increase his participation considerably in this training, which is to be assumed on a regional level by those involved themselves, together with researchers.

[Question] There are great inequities in the distribution of doctors in France. Do you intend to remedy this state of affairs through specific incentives?

[Answer] We must think about this and come up with new ideas. For this purpose, I will create many more missions of the type I am sending to Corsica; they will take stock of the proposals or the possible action in disadvantaged areas after widespread local/regional consultations. All participants in the health system, including the users, will participate in these projects, and I will meet in Reims, for example, with neighborhood associations as well as with social workers, paramedics, and family doctors or members of group practices.

Medical Practice and Standard of Living

[Question] The number of doctors in France will double between 1975 and 1985.¹ Counter to all the recommended efforts to handle this situation which generates abusive medical practice and forces overconsumption of medical services, you seem to be abandoning the system of selection established for this purpose. Why? And what is the status of the reforms of the examinations for which thousands of students are now preparing in uncertainty?

[Answer] The students will be informed, before October 1st, of the procedures for the 1983 examination, depending on the proposals of the commissions which are working on this, as well as the minister of national education and the minister of health. This year the number of students entering the second year has been held at the same level as last year, both overall and within each institution. In other words, we have decided not to continue to apply the reductions set by the previous administration which exceed--as I recall--the figure of 6,000 retained by the Fougere Commission.

1. In 1985, there will be 150,000 doctors in France, or 1 for every 375 inhabitants, while the average in industrialized countries is 1 doctor for every 600 inhabitants.

I further clarify that this maintenance of the 1981 rate also applies to dentistry and pharmacy students.

From this point, upon reflection, we are led to clarify our policy in the matter in relation to the new tasks which we foresee, particularly in prevention policy, or in the replacement of certain hospital students (residency, graduate school) which the reform would remove. I am not an advocate of excess medical practice. The health of a nation lies not in medicine alone, but in the quality of life.

My Bordeaux visit on 24 and 25 September, moreover, will be devoted to a wider consideration of training for health care. All the structures contributing to the training of future doctors, including local hospitals, doctor's offices, research centers, health centers, advanced hospital centers, will be involved in this examination, which will concern the training of health care personnel, beyond doctors, in the broadest sense: Including pharmacists, dentists and paramedics.

Medical information and the way in which rural areas perceive health will be the subject of my visit to Lafeline, a small village in Allier, where the mayor will assemble the townspeople. My tour is, as you see, a "voyage of inquiry."

[Question] Will the principle of enlightened and planned control of health teams be called into question by the new decentralization arrangements? How will you conduct this decentralization faced with the poverty of your health administration?²

[Answer] On 28 September, this subject is to be broached in Marseille with Mr. Gaston Defferre. The strangling of the ministry by the piles of paper, appeals or requests, which ascend to it as to God the Father, demonstrates the necessity of decentralization. It calls for a strengthening of local/regional structures, and we have created a joint study commission involving my agency and the ministry of national solidarity for this purpose.

[Question] Do mutual benefit societies have a role within the health system you intend to establish and, if so, what is it?

[Answer] We must put an end to the segregation of mutual societies. Specifically, on 29 September I am going to participate in opening ceremonies for a mutualist health center in Martigues, and the discussion which will follow has been organized by the mutual society and will deal with work and health conditions with, at the Port-de-Bouc steel mills, the participation of union members, the joint production committee, the health and safety committee, management, and representatives of the mutual society.

[Question] Who is to assume the responsibilities of prevention, to which you intend to give vigorous impetus: Industrial doctors, medical researchers, those involved with combating infant mortality, or the general practitioners?

[Answer] We must draw up new legislation for preventative practitioners and, perhaps, plan for a "prevention training stage" for general practitioners. We would like to make preventive medicine part of the social fabric, assure that schools provide excellent information, and I hope that the minister of health will be coproducing

2. One quarter of the health inspection staff which, on the regional level, should be the mainstay of this effort, is not budgeted at present.

a televised informative series on health problems which could be broadcast regularly during prime time hours.

Prevention is the theme of my Montpellier visit, where I will preside at the opening of the regional health laboratory.

Industrial doctors are the responsibility of the minister of labor, but we will try to establish close relations in this regard between our two agencies.

[Question] Will the struggle against alcoholism, which is a top health priority be conducted with the same energy and the same budget as planned after the report of Jean Bernard's commission?

[Answer] No political consideration will slow down the fight against alcoholism. But we want to perceive it in the wider framework of behavior modification.

Alcoholism is only the result of suffering, and the preventive means I want must not accuse the victims. A true study of the disease is required and then a true comprehension of the context, of what is found prior to such behavior, or the deep distress which engenders it.

[Question] The biomedical industry's annual deficit--in a 5 billion franc market--amounts to 1 billion francs. Do you have a plan for remedying this disaster?

[Answer] The development of a national biomedical industry will be the theme of my visit to the General Radiology Company in Stains on 3 October. Upon the agreement of the industrial managers, it would be desirable to establish an actual 5 year plan for re-equipping general hospitals. The long term outlets thus assured are the necessary condition of this development and of an understanding with the industry which would find in this a motive for investment, and consequently for creation of jobs.

I am not in favor of profit, but there is a minimum which must be respected in order to assure industrial development. On the same day, I will visit Toulouse with the themes of pharmacy and the pharmaceutical industry. I will visit SANOFI and a dispensary.

[Question] Hospitalization absorbs 55.24 percent of health care expenditures, of which 15 percent goes to private institutions. Will you assure their maintenance? The fact that no scanner has been provided to the private institutions is causing some anxiety. What is the reason for this?

[Answer] This is not a question of victimizing the private sector where it is indispensable. All its requests for heavy equipment (lasers, ultrasound, photocoagulation or scintigraph equipment)) have been granted. A complementary--but not a competitive--private sector has its place in our health system but--for advanced technology equipment such as scanners--it is necessary to favor or at least to give priority in equipping to the centers that are capable of training those who will use the equipment, to education and to research.

To respect the needs of patients, we want to decentralize heavy equipment. The distribution of scanners (which will not be installed for another year or two, which will allow time for training and coordination) was planned with this sole objective,

and our only criterion, following the study and recommendations of a competent commission, was humanitarian and geographic. All French patients, in all areas of France, should have access to this exploratory method which is indeed expensive, but is so effective that in no case, in a public or a private institution, should it become the "property" of those who have it. Regarding scanners, there are many powers to be vanquished. What must be respected is the interest of the patients, that is our true priority.

[Question] Will the directions of biomedical research--including hospital research--be determined by you or by Mr. Chevenement?

[Answer] Our jurisdiction remains over the larger biomedical research organizations (INSERM [national Institute of Health and Medical Research] the Pasteur Institute, the Curie Foundation, etc.), although the large budget areas are now determined by the minister of research, we will retain, as in the past, the administrative responsibility.

We have an essential role to play in informing the public on research and science. My visit to Lyon on 8 October and to INSERM and the Pasteur Institute on 7 October will revolve around these themes. The international projections of French medical technology will be carefully studied. The areas of agreement between the concerns of researchers and the concerns of workers are many, and this fact is being affirmed in our nation.

[Question] You have just authorized the opening of nine new mutualist pharmacies. Are you going to make them more widespread? Will the monopoly of the dispensaries, as the Rueff-Armond report already would suggest, be brought questioned?

[Answer] There are 20,000 private dispensaries and 61 mutualist pharmacies: It is like the elephant and the mouse; so why discuss immersion? The mutualists invented the third-party payer. This did not show up in an increase in medical consumption, but did make access possible to the poorest patients. Let the private pharmacies try to develop a third party payment system. As for the monopoly, the validity of this should probably be studied on a regional basis within the framework of decentralization.

"I Consider Myself More Liberal..."

[Question] Is free hospital care, which you intend to make a priority, although it is already 90 percent in existence, the prelude to progressive installation of a completely free national and community health system as foreseen under the Socialist plan? Would it eventually mean the elimination of the liberal practice of medicine which two-thirds of French practitioners now exercise exclusively or partially?

[Answer] I will certainly not be inspired by the English model. We must originate the whole thing. To me, maintaining the general practitioners and the freedom of the patient to choose a doctor are fundamental. The emotional, psychological and family issues have a powerful role in the area of health. Who would dare prohibit a patient from consulting a doctor in whom he had confidence, even if he practiced on the other side of the country? I consider myself more liberal than the previous

administration. There will be no Iena bridge³ during my term as minister. The installation of integrated health centers--if it is decided upon--will be facilitated with the sole purpose of encouraging social innovation, and not so that they are authoritarially substituted for other methods that would suit the community. We are here to spur innovation, and not to theorize.

[Question] Will your ministry have the means--even if only a competent department--to allow it to no longer surrender overseas health policy completely to the ministries of foreign affairs, cooperation, or national education?

[Answer] Not only will we have this department for work and study, but we will create within the ministry an international branch and an industrial branch.

We are going to rationalize the several hundred commissions existing within this ministry, some of which have up to 120 members and whose activities or logistic support are sometimes obscure. We need quick and competent systems for interventions, operating with the greatest freedom. Not commissions or coalitions. But, yes--and we have the means--groups for study, consideration and action on the important issues. As for the negotiations to be conducted to make decisions, that is my direct responsibility and no organization would be excluded.

[Question] Will the actual health budget--for health insurance (200 billion francs)--which is increasing at a rate (18.1 percent this year) far exceeding national wealth, finally be submitted to the judgement and the control of elected officials? Do you feel that it would be desirable to lighten the burden by pursuing the effort undertaken to control waste?

[Answer] I do not like to hear the word "burden" used in connection with health. If there is a beneficial--and desirable--financial effort, it is this one. But health care has its cost. As for combating wastefulness--yes, certainly. But not at the price of further waste. Studies of hospital economizing where there is the greatest confusion, and on the popularizing of certain preventive methods are necessary. The real goal is to allocate the means to handle serious diseases properly and "a la carte," and to prevent the rest. But I find that too often social security has been an opportune ideological display.

After my tour of France we will launch widespread consultations, with all those concerned, to establish a "chart of health" at the beginning of January as a conceptual and project basis for our actions. My strategy is not one of preparing models, but rather one of process.

[Question] It was a Communist minister, Mr. Billoux, who, in 1945, signed a bill establishing the medical association. Do you attach as much importance to its elimination as do the Socialists? How and by whom would its diverse missions be assumed?

[Answer] The problem which presents itself is one of national associations and the over-extended missions which are granted to them. A regional framework (as for the bar associations) and a limitation of their roles to the definition and

3. Editor's note: On 5 June 1980, during the day of demonstration against the medical agreement, some of the 5,000 doctors who marched were roughly treated on the Iena and Alexander III bridges by the police.

defense of ethical problems within the professions involved should enable restoration of a desirable balance.

[Question] What are the dominant features characterizing your personal political philosophy in the area of medical and social activity over which you preside? How, as a confirmed Communist, do you integrate your ideas into the Socialist plan with which you are presently connected?

[Answer] I am and will be solidly aligned with the administration to which I belong on the basis of our common commitments. I also participate in natural and valuable interministerial cooperation. More generally, it is my manner to cooperate in many things and in many ways with those involved. I never did it any other way in the 20 years I was assistant mayor of Aubervilliers. My personal philosophy will come into play anywhere where inequalities exist; anywhere where freedom is threatened. Freedom is ever present in my thoughts, and it will be my philosophy to tell each person to take full responsibility, to take himself in hand. I am offended by the ideas of the "assisted" and the "assister."

Government officials are often tempted by the concept: "I represent, therefore I do." Personally, I want a participatory society and I sympathize with an idea of Robespierre's. "Let the citizens do," he said, "everything that they can do by themselves. Let the representatives do only what remains."

[Question] As a specialist in culture, do you feel at ease in the ministry of health? Why were you appointed to it?

[Answer] There is hardly a wider field of innovation than that of health. Doctors, researchers and artists all work in close contact with people. I have an intense perception of this daily scheduled encounter.

9693

C80: 3100/995

SUCCESSFUL EXPLOITATION OF SEAWEED RESOURCES DESCRIBED

Paris L'USINE NOUVELLE in French 24 Sep 81 p 80

[Article by Michel Dabaj: "Goemar Bets on the Sea"]

[Text] France is rich in seaweed--very rich and possesses the technology to exploit it. This is what a Breton PMI [small or medium-sized industry] understood, with blatant success.

Tomorrow, Friday, the new plant of the Goemar Laboratories will be inaugurated by the Minister of Maritime Affairs Louis Le Pensec. This will give public authorities the opportunity to pay tribute to President Rene Herve who achieved extraordinary success in a relatively avant-garde area, that of industrial exploitation of seaweed.

Rene Herve was quick to observe: "It really is not avant-garde. This type of long term exploitation existed in our region which, like Ireland, constitutes one of the richest 'beds' in the world, at least with regard to the number of varieties." However, Brittany, which has seen the birth of these ventures, has also seen their death. There are only a few of them left, the principal one of these, at Landerneau, belonged to Ceca, an affiliate of Paribas, which has recently been recaptured by Sanofi, of the Elf-Aquitaine group.

In this situation, Goemar displays almost impudent financial health. Organized in 1972 (with a capital of 20,000 francs!) it has just invested 12 million francs in the new unit. Starting with two people at the beginning, it now employs 46 and enjoys a volume of business of 16 million francs, increasing at a rate of 40 percent per year, 25 percent of which goes to exports to the rest of Europe, Asia, the Middle East, America, etc.

The Most Modern Process in the World

"In the next 5 years, we shall continue to advance at a rate of 40 to 50 percent and we shall do 50 percent of our business in the form of exports. These are the figures that I have set for myself and I'll stick to them!" Rene Herve is a go-getter. He owes his success to a process that he developed himself, losing no time in patenting it in most of the countries having large supplies of seaweed, such as Ireland, Japan, Korea and Australia. "I believe that we

have the most modern process in the world," he says without any hesitation. "This is true even with respect to the Japanese, who are ahead of us and the rest of the world in the cultivation of seaweed. We possess the only technology that permits extracting all the active materials (phytohormones, vitamins, amino acids, etc). Many people have understood this and have proposed that we give them our patents. The Koreans, for example, have made me an offer to install a unit in their country as a joint venture."

The first of Goemar's objectives is the manufacture of products for use in agriculture (70 percent of its volume of business) which is increasing at an annual rate of 20 to 30 percent. These products are obtained by grinding the seaweed into powder form. The phytohormones present in the processed seaweed serve to fertilize plants and stimulate their growth. To prove this, we have spent more than 2.5 million francs on experimentation in France and abroad."

During the last 2 years, Goemar has also been manufacturing thalassotherapeutic products, this constituting its second most important line, (85 percent of French spas use them) as well as Tonialg cosmetics, which have 1,500 to 2,000 sales outlets in France and are widely sold abroad. However, Goemar will soon extend its activities to the furnishing of "raw materials" prepared for pharmaceutical laboratories. This activity is now in the development phase with the aid of ANVAR [National Agency for the Valorization of Research] and many university researchers. "Seaweed has components in it with properties similar to those of heparin (heart stimulant) or of an anti-herpetic nature. We have also detected molecules having deficiency-correcting characteristics. We are very far advanced with respect to the latter and will be able to offer a product on the market within a few months."

Meanwhile, Rene Herve is leaving for the United States. He has just created a business affiliate there.

7619

CSO: 3100/13

COMPANY RECOVERS GOLD FROM JUNKED COMPUTERS

Paris L'USINE NOUVELLE in French 24 Sep 81 p 143

[Article by Pierre Laperrousaz: "The Computer Rush"]

[Text] Junked computers are not like ordinary scrap iron since they contain gold. The Valmet Corporation has developed a recovery process by combining selective dissolution with electrolysis.

Old computers are a real "gold mine." Each ton of these expensive electrotechnical assemblies contains 5 to 10 grams of this precious metal deposited in layers several microns thick on the components, cards, connectors, etc. Between 3,000 and 4,000 tons of computers are junked "as is" every year. In addition, an equal amount finds its way into the recovery market in the form of electrotechnically sorted components, according to some estimates. This amounts to a "vein" of 35 to 40 kilograms of gold still awaiting the "prospector" having a suitable "pickaxe" and "sieve" who could profitably extract this precious metal. In this case, the "prospector" has been the Valmet Corporation of Aubervilliers which has recently developed a process for recovering gold and silver by means of selective dissolution combined with electrolysis. This is a conventional bath; however, the original feature consists of having it circulate in a closed circuit between two tanks, simultaneously performing dissolution and electrolytic deposition of the metal, while continuously being regenerated by anodic oxidation.

"The composition of this bath is the key to the process" says Yves Jehanne, chairman and managing director of Valmet. "It should be regenerable by means of electrolysis, thus excluding conventional cyanide baths which are destroyed by oxidation of the anode." Yves Jehanne, who acquired extensive experience at Comptoir Lyon-Alemand-Louyet (CLAL), where he worked for several years, therefore developed a formulation free of cyanide. "It is based on an organic compound which is not subject to electrolysis, in which a stable auriferous or argentiferous complex is formed." He obviously remains very discreet with regard to the nature of this complex.

The difficulty lay in managing to achieve sufficiently rapid rates of dissolution. For silver, removal of the metal (in the tank) is achieved in a few seconds. For gold, it takes from 2 to 5 minutes, depending on the thickness of the layer to be dissolved. Electrolysis is conducted in a conventional cell connected in a closed circuit to the metal-removing tank, the advantage of this

circulation process being to maintain the concentration of metal in the bath at a value that is convenient for electrolysis (of the order of a gram in the case of gold, which is fortunate, since higher contents would lead to serious stoppages). The deposited metal is then remelted before being sent to a refiner.

Valmet thus has a position between the scrap dealers and the big refiners such as CLAL. It receives computer scrap concentrated to about 0.5 kilogram of gold per ton by means of intelligent sorting consisting of hand separation of the components containing gold. It delivers ingots that are 80 to 90 percent pure. Until then, the computer scrap followed the path of copper recovery and the precious metals came out as byproducts.

The process was first tested on a pilot installation having a capacity of 10 liters, then on a 500-liter installation. However, the latter only operated for the time being in the stationary mode, that is, without moving, the two stages (dissolution and electrolysis) being performed sequentially. "We didn't want to take the chance of starting immediately on a 3,000-liter final installation since there was the possibility that the development period would be too long," said Yves Jehanne. Since a new company must acquire resources rapidly, the 3,000-liter installation was operated in batches with a conventional process, namely removal of gold, using low concentration of cyanide without regeneration of the bath.

Since the number of discarded computers can only increase in the future, there is no fear of having a shortage of raw materials. This does not mean that the potential for recovery of precious metals will increase proportionally since electronics miniaturization and the efforts of component manufacturers to decrease their consumption of gold will cause the "vein" to tend to become exhausted. "However, we will manage to find some other activity," concluded Yves Jehanne.

7619

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NATION'S COSMONAUT SELECTION CRITERIA REVIEWED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 15 Sep 81 p 13

[Article by Dr Monique Vigy: "How the French Cosmonauts Have Been Selected"]

[Text] To be in good general condition, not to present any particular risk of renal colic, dental problems or other medical or surgical emergencies--these are the criteria for any slightly remote expedition. And of course the candidates for cosmonaut must satisfy them. They must also have a cardiovascular system and an inner ear especially capable of resisting, and above all adapting to, the special conditions of space flight.

Very complex examinations and medical tests were undergone by Jean-Loup Chretien and Patrick Baudry, who are, respectively, the alternate and principal candidates on the "waiting list" for the Franco-Soviet space mission scheduled for April 1982 (see our 10 September edition).

By the end of 1979 some 400 candidacy dossiers had been filed with the CNES (National Center for Space Studies). Only one remains. The selection process was a tough one. After examining the dossiers, the CNES retained 70 subjects, who passed a series of medical examinations in the medical evaluation centers for flight personnel from various aviation administrative regions. Fifty subjects then remained, who underwent a much more complete medical examination at the main evaluation center for flight personnel in Paris.

At the same time, the candidates submitted to psychological tests at the CERP-Air (Center for Psychological Studies and Research-Air).

The third organization chosen by the CNES as a "subcontractor" for the final medical evaluation is the Aerospace Medicine Laboratory (LAMAS) of the Bretigny Flight Test Center (Professor Robert Auffret, director). The assistant director, Professor Henri Vieillefond, told us how the final medical selection was made. At that stage there were some 20 candidates. LAMAS kept five of them at the end of the tests and the Franco-Soviet Committee made the final choice.

The tests undergone at Bretigny had been perfected and decided upon as a result of collaboration between Bretigny and the Star City Military Air Academy in Moscow. They

were tests of tolerance to all kinds of stresses, some of them real and known, others imagined as possibly appearing accidentally. The principal known stresses are exercised upon the cardiovascular system and the inner ear, that is to say the vestibule. They are connected on the one hand with the acceleration of the departure and the return, and on the other hand with weightlessness.

Acceleration is reproduced by placing the subjects in a centrifuge, a kind of merry-go-round revolving at high speed.

Weightlessness is reproduced--or more accurately, simulated--by means of various tests. At Bretigny they use a kind of watertight compartment in which the lower part of the subjects' bodies is placed in an environment in which the barometric pressure is diminished by 70 millibars. This causes significant displacement of the blood mass, which is drawn toward the lower part of the body. Thus the cardiovascular system's capacity to adapt may be studied.

The centrifuge also makes it possible to select the subjects whose inner ear is only slightly sensitive to the variations in gravitational environment and who are therefore less at risk for "space sickness." And it was possible in this way to keep two boys, one of whom is very slightly sensitive and the other of whom, sensitive on departure, improved very quickly because he has good adaptability.

Moreover, the subjects underwent muscular exercise tests. In fact, they will have to be capable on the one hand of taking intensive training in the Soviet Union before the departure and on the other hand of working in a condition of weightlessness, which, because of the lack of support points, is very costly from the point of view of energy.

Finally, hypoxia tests, in which the climbing altitude (5,000 to 5,500 meters, or half the barometric pressure on the ground) is simulated in a compartment, made it possible to evaluate the potential respiratory and cardiovascular adaptation. These tests also make it possible to evaluate the subjects' tubal permeability. Good tubal permeability is necessary to reduce the risk of barotraumatic otitis.

But--and Henri Vieillefond strongly emphasized this point--the medical criteria, as important as they are, were only one part of the selection criteria. Many scientific and professional qualifications were required of the candidates (who had to speak Russian in addition to everything else). For this mission the French cosmonaut will have to be capable of performing piloting tasks, since he is to be the second in command on board. This partly explains why the two men who were finally chosen are military men.

8946

CSO: 3100/7

GOVERNMENT WILL NOT ISSUE COMPUTERIZED ID CARDS

Paris ZERO UN INFORMATIQUE HEBDO in French 21 Sep 81 p 11

[Article by Christine Peressini: "Computerized Identity Cards: the End of an Experiment"]

[Text] The government has resolved "not to impose on the French people the computerized identity card that had been decided upon by the previous government," the minister of the Interior has just announced in a communique published on 12 September 1981. The minister ordered his departments to stop delivery of new cards in the three departments of the Parisian region (Hauts-de-Seine, Val d'Oise and Yvelines), where they have already been in circulation since last 5 January (extending the requirement to all departments was to have been spread out over 13 years).

Instituted by a decree of 31 July 1980, the plastic-coated card, which conforms to the recommendations of the Council of Europe where its format is concerned (125 x 88 mm) and to the advice of the National Computer and Freedom Commission (CNIL) with respect to its content (see UN HEBDO No. 625 of 29 December 1980), had as its basic end result, as Christian Bonnet the then minister of the Interior, stated it, to end fraud and falsification (8 to 10 percent of the cards being lost or stolen).

Difficult Beginnings

At the heart of the system a computer operated the acquisition of forms directly from the prefectures in which were installed Mitra 225 terminals, controlling and directing fabrication in one of the six centers set up for that purpose (Levallois-Perret for Paris and the North of Paris region). This storage in memory of all identity documents made it possible to prevent the same card being delivered twice to two persons or a single person.

The signature of the card-holder, the seal of the authority delivering the card, the photograph and the tax stamp were reproduced on the paper that had previously been provided with a background for security, by means of an alphanumeric laser. On this subject, it will be recalled that there were delays during the 8 months the system was in operation, causing citizens to wait to obtain the new cards, when technical problems were combined with administrative slowness (especially when the reproduction of the photo turned out to be too sensitive, or the signature ran over the edges of the narrow frame reserved for it!)

Be that as it may, since it was first studied, the computerization of the identity card was already very controversial; among its detractors were leftist organizations, labor union organizations (such as the CPDT) or humanitarian organizations (Human Rights League, etc.), which, despite the lies of the ministry of the Interior, feared an interconnection between the identity card file and other computerized files (through the Mitra 225's with which the original prefectures were equipped).

There was also the danger that information would be introduced into the file that was not supposed to appear there. Consulted on these points, the CNIL spokesman noted that "the technical process of fabricating [the cards] would produce a centralization effect: from an autonomous regional file we would slide toward a national system, distributed over six territorial points, of course, but connected to each other and completely controllable by a computer playing a supervisory role in the ministry of the Interior."

On 3 June 1980, however, the commission issued an opinion favorable to the draft decree "concerning the creation of a system for fabricating national identity cards," subject to some modifications. In fact, the dangers of misuse of the legal end result of the cards was not to be ignored: legally optional, the national identity card, which was supposed to be reliable and impossible to falsify, was in danger of becoming compulsory "de facto."

Likewise, since the document was to have as its only purpose proof of identity (civilian identity-state" rather than "system of identification"), the CNIL had rejected the optical reading zone and the use of OCR-B [optical character reader-B] (computerized to the European standard), as well as a card identification number attached to the person (that is to say, permanent) instead of to the duration of the card's validity. In accordance with the opinion of the commission, the decree instituting the automated identity card no longer mentioned these points, nor did it mention the possibility of preserving in the computer's memory the signature and photograph of the person concerned.

"Improving" the Traditional Cards

The decision to abandon the experiment, emanating from a leftist government, was therefore not really a surprise. The new minister of the Interior explains it this way: "In fact, even while taking into account the precautions imposed at the time by the Computer and Freedoms Commission, the system envisaged might lead to the citizens being indexed. The president of the Republic has affirmed on numerous occasions that he did not want such indexing, which would be dangerous to individual liberty."

So we are now in an intermediate period, during which the old cards, which will be "issued as quickly as possible," will have to be given necessary modifications, for, taking up the main argument of his predecessor, Gaston Defferre emphasizes that they present "the inconvenience of being too easy to falsify. Studies will begin on technical improvements to reduce the risk of fraud."

The CNIL, whose official position consists of a no-comment attitude on this decision, is waiting until a new draft is submitted for its opinion.

GENERAL

FRANCE

BRIEFS

DST SERVICES HINDERED--A hindrance to the work of the DST [Internal Security Service] has cropped up: with no replacement for the [recently terminated] Cour de Surete de l'Etat [National Security Court] and for lack of qualified judges, the DST services in question are unable to present to the courts their files on suspected espionage agents. [Text] [Paris LE POINT in French 12 Oct 81 p 83]

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